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162 563 situation it will of course be necessary to wait until the next census.

3

Race, Origin, Language

144 The Balinese, like the large majority of the other inhabitants of Indonesia, are classified as Malays, who are usually included in the Palaeo-Mongolid sub-race.[8] In the sub-division into Early and Late Malays the Balinese belong to the latter group.

144 175 The ancestors of the Indonesians must originally have lived in what is now Yunan, in southwest China. Around 2000 B.C. they began to trek southwards from the mountains to the coast of Farther India, and roughly five hundred years later crossed over to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and to the other islands. When they settled on Bali is not known with any precision.[9]

197 The present-day languages of Indonesia are cognate, and together constitute the Indonesian language family. Inside that family there are several groups of more closely related languages. Balinese, together with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of western Sumbawa, constitutes one such group.[10] In structure and syntax, then, it is more closely related to those languages than to Javanese. In the course of history,[11] however, Old Javanese (and, either directly or *via* Old Javanese, Sanskrit)[12] has had a great influence on the Balinese vocabulary, as regards not only terms for cultural elements borrowed, but also everyday terms. Hence the position of Balinese in the Indonesian language family is comparable to that of English in the Indo-Germanic family. English, too, is very closely related to the languages of one group, the Germanic, but in the course of history has been strongly influenced by Latin and French, two languages of another group, the Italic.

195 192 576 Balinese also has in common with Javanese its use of the so-called 'vocabularies of courtesy'.[13] The Balinese determines his choice of words according to the social relation between the

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Chapter Two

Balinese History and the Elements of Balinese Culture

I

Early History

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The Balinese themselves seek the origins of their culture outside their island. This is apparent in many of their legends. One of them, for example, the *Usana Bali*,[1] has the following to say about the earliest period of Balinese history. Sang Kulputih, 'the Holy Hermit of Majapahit', founded Pura Bĕsakih, Bali's chief temple, and officiated there as a priest, practising asceticism and reciting prayers. Therefore the god Pasupati decided to send his son and daughter to Bali and to transfer there a part of Mahameru, the mountain of the gods. On Bali the two children of the god were given the names Mahadewa and Dewi Danu, and the peak of Mahameru became the mountain of Gunung Agung.

After mentioning all kinds of religious rules and ceremonies in this connection, the *Usana Bali* recounts that Mayadanawa, the evil king of Bedahulu, disturbed the offering ceremonial. Sang Kulputih begged Mahadewa and Dewi Danu for assistance, and the latter called on the gods of Jambudwipa: Indra and their father Pasupati. Upon obtaining the promise of the gods' help, Mahadewa marched with the divine hosts against Mayadanawa. The latter was defeated after a fierce struggle, and following a long pursuit was brought to death. Any number of sacred places in the Balinese landscape are associated with these events. After the end of the struggle Pasupati himself came to Bali and set affairs in order, regulating the temple system and the like. Then he returned to Jambudwipa with his retinue.

[P. 16]

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In this account not only the origins of Balinese religion are related, but also those of Balinese culture. It is the latter that is alluded to in the transfer of a part of Mahameru, which became Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and holiest mountain. For the Balinese this is not geography, but cosmology: the Mahameru is a symbol of the ordered universe, the cosmos. Hence one can follow the first European student of Bali, Friederich, in characterizing the tale as a popular description of the nature and origin of the institutions of Hindu religion and culture on Bali. That origin lay in Jambudwipa (that is to say India) and those institutions were brought by Hindu gods. The recipients, the Balinese, are represented in the legend as followers of an evil, godless demon ruler. There is one exception, however, the figure of Sang Kulputih, who might be called a forerunner of Hindu religion on Bali. He knows the proper forms of worship, and he has contact with the Hindu gods, who hear his prayers and send him help. But this Sang Kulputih also is non-Balinese in origin. The text states specifically that he "was originally from Majapahit", the renowned realm in eastern Java.

Such is the point of view of Bali's early history provided by Balinese tradition, as represented by the *Usana Bali*. For almost a century, however, the methods of modern critical research have been applied to the early history of Bali. To what extent do the results agree with the traditional point of view?

Our chief source of knowledge regarding early Balinese history consists of the royal edicts, inscriptions on stone or metal. These edicts tell about the rulers with their royal court and chancellery, the relation of the royal administration to the people in the *desas*, regulations in the religious field, measures regarding irrigation and taxation, and what not. Another source is that of archeological finds: images and artifacts.

Here it is not the place for a complete survey of the data from the inscriptions, which are in course of being edited and translated.[1] Instead we shall confine ourselves to a few comments on the society and the culture of early Bali, on the basis of epigraphic data in combination with archeological material.

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their courts. The priests gave to such an Indonesian ruler a Brahmanic consecration, and often a genealogy tracing back to the Indian gods or heroes. In that way they strengthened the ruler's position in the eyes of foreign traders. Moreover the Brahmins helped to model the court, chancellery, and administration after those of India.[1] Alongside these political and economic factors there were also religious factors of importance. The Indian Brahmins played a decisive rôle in the Hindu soteriological doctrines, and in Indonesia also they appeared in this rôle.[2]

The Balinese data fit into this general picture of Hinduization. Whether we may assume that trade was an initial link in the case of Bali is, however, an open question. Regarding the other Hinduized regions we know that there were a number of what were for those times important commercial centres where international trade was carried on. But there is no evidence of the sort for Bali in the early period, and later, roughly from the fifteenth century on, the data point in the opposite direction: Bali played what was at best a subordinate rôle in the international trade of the time.

If trade is to be ruled out, are we to think in terms of an indirect influence, *via* a neighbouring land that was already Hinduized? For the early period there is no evidence either way. From the eleventh century onwards, however, this possibility definitely needs to be taken into consideration, primarily on the basis of epigraphic data. The earliest inscriptions were written in Old Balinese (a language clearly the ancestor of present-day Balinese) interspersed with a great many Sanskrit terms. But shortly after 1000 A.D. the situation changed. From that time onwards inscriptions written in Old Javanese began to appear. From this it can be deduced that by then Old Javanese had become the language of court and administration on Bali. This would point towards a strong influence of the Hindu-Javanese realms and their culture on Bali. In keeping with this is the fact, substantiated by Javanese and Balinese inscriptions, that in that period a ruler of the Balinese dynasty of the Warmadewas was married to an

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eastern Javanese princess. She was considered of higher rank than her husband, as appears for example from the fact that she is mentioned before her husband in the edicts,[7] and that one of her sons bears titles corresponding to those in his mother's family, not to those in the family of his father, as normally would have been the case. Another son, Erlangga, became ruler of the eastern Javanese realm (1019–1042); his younger brothers (or half-brothers) ruled on Bali. A series of their edicts dating from the years 1022–1077 has been preserved.[8] Together, these facts constitute sufficient reason to assume that in the period at hand there were such close political ties between eastern Java and Bali that strong cultural influence would naturally follow.

It is, then, not absolutely necessary to explain the Hindu elements in the culture of Bali during and since that period by direct contact with India; they can at least as easily have been the result of an indirect influence, *via* the intermediary of Hindu-Javanese culture. But be that as it may, this period (*circa* 1000–1343) can be characterized as the Hindu-Balinese period of older Balinese history.

From the end of the eleventh century onwards Old Javanese became the usual language of the inscriptions, and this fact would seem to indicate a lasting cultural influence. Politically, however, the ties were by no means firm. There is reference to a successful expedition from eastern Java against Bali in 1284,[9] but not long afterwards inscriptions were again issued on Bali by rulers who showed no signs of political dependence on Java. The last of them, in 1337, bore the lengthy name of Aṣṭāsura-ratna bumi-bantĕn.[10]

Following this sketch of the results of modern research, let us return for a moment to the legend with which this chapter began. We can now better appreciate its relative truth. The *Usana Bali* presents the origins of what the author viewed as Balinese culture in a picture which, taken mythically, is not incorrect. The gods may in reality have been Brahmanic priests, and their forerunners Indian traders, but the tale retains a core of truth. And it presents a view of Bali's past which has fashioned the thinking of many a

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Balinese down to the present day, namely that Bali's culture and religion are essentially Hindu. 101 175 771

2

Majapahit and Bali

While in the preceding paragraphs it was necessary to speak of the ties between Bali and Java in fairly vague terms, in 1343 the situation changed. Roundabout that year the realm of Majapahit appears to have sent out an expedition whose results are summarized in the court chronicle as follows: "In 1343 Bali, against whose vile and base-hearted ruler an expedition had been sent, was overthrown and everyone slain [or: brought into subjection]."[11] Majapahit, the renowned eastern Javanese realm, was founded in 1293 and fell, after a long period of decline, around 1500.[12] According to the same chronicle,[13] the expedition against Bali was led by Gajah Mada, who from 1319 on had been *patih* (grand vizier or chief minister) over a part of the realm, and from 1331 to 1364 over the whole of it. This expedition changed the state of affairs on Bali for some time. It is evident from decrees issued in 1394 and 1398[14] that the island was governed as a dependency of Majapahit. That the influence was cultural as well as political is made clear in the court chronicle: "And the other island, Bali, conformed in all customs with the land of Java ..."[15] 175

It is known that with the beginning of Majapahit's decline in the early fifteenth century the dependencies were able to break away. On Bali, too, the political influence of Majapahit came to an end; not so, however, the cultural influence. That has continued to be felt down to the present day. Thus the period since 1343 might be described as the Javanese-Balinese, or more accurately still the Hindu-Javanese-Balinese.

Let us now consider what the Balinese historical tradition has to say regarding this Javanese conquest which appears to have been such an extremely important event in Balinese history. That tradition is embodied in chronicles such as the *Pĕmĕnchangah*[16] and the *Usana Jawa*, which are reminiscent of the chivalric romances of

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medieval Europe. One certainly should not expect critical, historical precision in them; however, the Balinese view of that period finds clear expression. The data may be summarized briefly as follows.[17]

During the reign of the second ruler of Majapahit (1309–1328), the king of Bedahulu,[18] Pasungrigih or Pasunggiri, was defeated by Arya Damar in conjunction with Gajah Mada. This did not mean the complete subjection of Bali, however; for that a second expediton was needed. According to one account, Gajah Mada put the new expedition in charge of Kapakisan, accompanied by a number of nobles from Majapahit. Kapakisan took along all the paraphernalia for a *kraton*, including his robes of office and a creese. The other version gives virtually the same account of this episode, but mentions Arya Damar as commander. After the rebellious elements – among whom the people of the mountain villages played an important rôle – had been brought to heel, Kapakisan established himself as ruler of Bali and founded a *kraton* at Samprangan (in the present-day region of Gianyar); the nobles of Majapahit became the peers of his realm. This according to the *Pĕmĕnchangah* account.[19] The *Usana Jawa*, however, recounts that after the second victory the ruler of Majapahit himself went to Bali. There he had to take up arms once more, this time against a certain Mrajadanawa, whom he defeated in Bedahulu. Then he transferred his *kraton* from Majapahit to Gelgel.

What the *Pĕmĕnchangah* and the *Usana Jawa* relate finds its continuation in the further history of Bali, both in the political-dynastic and in the cultural fields. The dynastic centre was probably transferred from Samprangan to Gelgel as early as the second or third generation,[20] and between 1650 and 1686 from there to nearby Klungkung,[21] which up to the present century has remained the residence of the *dewa agung*, at first in practice, but later usually only in theory, the chief ruler of Bali. The other princes and princelings traced their ancestry and their authority to the nobles of Majapahit who accompanied the Javanese commander on his expedition to Bali.

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That the authors of the chivalric romances had not only political and dynastic relations in mind is clear from the very wording of their accounts. Taking along the paraphernalia of a *kraton* and transferring the whole court are to their way of thinking the equivalent of transplanting a culture. Hence they looked upon Bali as a continuation of Majapahit from the cultural point of view as well. And this was not the fantastic idea of such authors, but reality, as appears from the following fact. The literature of the heyday of Majapahit lives on still on Bali; in fact a large part of it we know only from manuscripts which were copied out and preserved there. And not only were the Old Javanese writings preserved on Bali, but new ones were produced in the same style. The language used in them is not so much a descendant of Old Balinese as of Old Javanese, the so-called Middle Javanese.[22] These Old and Middle Javanese works are read and recopied even today, and still largely set the norm for what is officially recognized and appreciated as literature.[23]

The nature of the accounts referred to here differs from that of the *Usana Bali* as chivalric romances differ from myth. In the latter one can at best detect a sense which is in agreement with the general trend of Balinese history; in the former there are many details that can be compared with data from other sources: those in the inscriptions and chronicles, as we have seen, and later those in the Dutch East India Company documents. In one respect, however, there is agreement: in both, the origins of the realms and their culture are sought not in Bali, but outside – in the timeless Indian world of the gods, according to the myth, or in the eastern Javanese Majapahit of the time of Gajah Mada, according to the chivalric romances. We have already seen that the point of view of the myth is still alive. But alongside it that of the chivalric romances is also still valid. Whoever wants to count for anything on Bali, even in the present century, calls himself *wong Majapahit*, 'a man of Majapahit'. 'In the beginning was Majapahit'; what lies before it is a chaos of demons and villains about which the Balinese knows practically nothing.

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175 To the Balinese mind the two views are by no means mutually exclusive. Accordingly one of the finest European students of this Balinese literature believes that the author of the *Usana Bali* in his work:

> ... in which he set down an early indigenous tradition regarding the triumph of Hinduism on Bali, at the same time glorified the triumph of Hindu-Javanism over Hindu-Balinism ... In that case the *Usana Bali* is the *Usana Jawa*, with which it runs completely parallel, on a higher level; here Kulputih of Majapahit, there Gajah Mada and Arya Damar; here the Hindu gods with Mahadewa in the lead, there the forces of Majahapit under the king, the first *dewa agung* of Gelgel; here the triumph of Hinduism, there of Javanism; the inferior Bali is defeated in Mrajadanawa ...[24]

In all these sources the indigenous elements of Bali are of no significance. However, the question arises whether the serious student of Balinese history may rest content with such a view.

3

What History Does Not Tell

175 The chivalric romances referred to in the preceding section were
114 written by court poets, and hence reflected the views of court circles. The *Usana Bali* likewise; its author, Nirartha (also called Pĕdanda Wau Rauh, and Dwijendra), was a Javanese Brahmin who probably came to the court at Gelgel around 1550, and there composed a large number of poetic works.[25]

That courtly culture has also set its stamp on modern historical research, since the data with which scholars have to work are, for the earliest period, primarily inscriptions, plus conclusions drawn from archeological findings. Both emanated from the sphere of the ruler, his priests, his chancellery, and his court. The ordinary man, the Balinese in his *desa*, is to be encountered in the inscriptions primarily as an object, to be governed, to be subjected to a regulation, to be granted a favour, to be assigned work on a temple. Hence everything we have learnt in the previous paragraphs regarding the history of Bali – the course of events and the conditions obtaining, as they can be deduced from the written sour-

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ces – has suffered from the same bias: it is the view of the court circles. 175 114

Now in later times the court circles found their cultural ideal in Majapahit: their orientation was Hindu-Javanese. And in the earlier period it was again the rulers who sought contact abroad. Hence the ruler and his retinue were inclined to emphasize the non-indigenous elements in Bali's culture and history, whether those elements were Hindu or Hindu-Javanese.

This view also colours the older Western accounts of Bali. Foreign visitors to the island went first to the court. Lintgensz., in 1597, talked with the king and his *patih*. Raffles, in 1815, likewise. Crawfurd, who visited Buleleng in 1814, repeatedly mentions Brahmins as sources of information for his description of Balinese religion, and Friederich does the same. The three men last mentioned were all acquainted with classical Hinduism. What they saw on Bali, in their contact with Brahmins and rulers, reminded them of it. True, they also saw many things that struck them as being anything but Hindu, but they saw such things through Hindu spectacles, and so had a distorted view. Raffles declared that:

> ... in Bali the Hindu faith, however blended with the local customs of the island, and however perverted and distorted in its application by a semi-barbarous people, is still the established religion of the country ...[26]

And Friederich stated that, after initial doubts, he became convinced of the Hindu character of the popular religion, adding:

> ... that only the small respect which the temples of the *sudras* enjoy from the priests has tarnished the objects of worship and corrupted the method of worship ...[27]

The Balinese religion, he felt, had originally been a duplicate of the Hindu, and what was not in keeping with the Hindu religion did not count. A similar opinion prevailed among other scholars for a time.

Eventually, however, students of Bali developed more of an eye for early Indonesian elements as against Hindu elements, the popular sphere as against the royal sphere. Research workers –

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175 among them the authors of the studies collected in this book –
114 realized that in the peculiar culture which had developed on Bali the indigenous was at least as important as the imported, and that both parties had to be heard if a proper understanding of the culture as a whole was to be obtained.

12 How can one catch sight of the indigenous, early Indonesian
114 culture of the Balinese, and study its development in the course of
175 history? Four approaches may be mentioned.

(*a*) The inscriptions provide a large number of data on the *desa*, but, as has already been pointed out, they reveal it primarily as the ruler and his officials viewed it. How certain measures were adjusted to the popular sphere, for example, to what extent they were put in practice or remained Hindu theory or the pious wish of the ruler, seldom appears. The internal life of the *desa* usually remains vague. A great deal can be derived from the inscriptions,[18] but what is derived must be tested with other data.

(*b*) Prehistoric research goes back to the age before Hinduization had taken place. Hence it is an important means of getting to know Balinese life as it was before it had come in contact with imported elements. Such research is of particular significance for our knowledge of the popular and village sphere. For the royal sphere there are fairly early written sources, as was pointed out above, so there, at a rather early date, prehistory yields to history. For the popular sphere, however – in as far as it falls outside the written evidence of the royal sphere – the prehistorical period lasted longer; sometimes (in a number of isolated mountain villages, for instance) it continued until close to the present day.

(*c*) Cultural anthropology is also of value in this connection. By means of comparison with other Indonesian regions which had little or no contact with Hinduism or Hindu-Javanism it can often be estimated what conditions, customs, and objects are general Indonesian and so may have been a part of the culture of Mayadanawa's demonic followers mentioned in the *Usana Bali* or the "vile and base-hearted ruler" of the Majapahit court chronicle. For instance, the antithesis mountainwards and seawards,

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upstream and downstream, which is fundamental to Bali's culture and religion,[29] also appears to dominate the culture of the Ngaju Dyaks of southern Borneo.[30]

(*d*) In some parts of Bali there are still many cultural forms which – partly on the basis of data provided by one or more of the disciplines mentioned – may be assumed to perpetuate much of the earliest indigenous period. In this respect a number of mountain villages which have maintained their isolation, in many cases consciously, are of importance. In the mountain village Madenan, for instance, the older tribal organization into phratries is still reflected, so Grader believes, in the classification of the members of the *desa*.[31] And according to Korn the initiation rites known to us from other parts of the archipelago can be seen glimmering through customs in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.[32]

In making use of this last source of knowledge regarding the indigenous Balinese culture scholars must constantly keep in mind, of course, that even in such villages time has never stood still, though a comparison to more rapidly changing areas may give that impression. The situation is rather that in these communities, although they have absorbed any number of later, Hindu-Balinese elements, the trained eye of the scholar can detect what are sometimes with certainty, sometimes with more or less probability early, indigenous elements.[33] This should be kept in mind, for instance, in perusing the fascinating second chapter of the picture album *Bali: Cults and Customs*,[34] in which modern photographs from villages considered traditional are used as illustrative of "The Ancient Indigenous Phase".

Working along these lines, one can detect an important number of early, indigenous elements in present-day Balinese culture.

From prehistoric research, for example, we learn that the so-called kettle drums spring from the bronze age. The most renowned Balinese example of such a kettle drum is the approximately man-tall 'moon' in Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, at Pejeng.

Another important detail is that the type and structure of the Balinese temples can most satisfactorily be explained as tracing

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back to megalithic culture. One of the scholars most at home in prehistoric Indonesia has defined the relation as follows:

> Now it is very remarkable, that the so-called Hindu temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship f[or] i[nstance] the sungod Surya in the form of a statue, representing a man, sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Surya, onto which the godhead is supposed to descend in an invisible form, when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the temple is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.
>
> In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc. were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones, sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples; they are destined for Surya, the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till to-day the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.
>
> Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended onto the megaliths, for example onto the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, as still exist for example at Gèlgèl, are the prehistorical forerunners of the present-day "balé agung".
>
> In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. ... On Bali several places are found consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving.[11]

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105 177 the shadow play (wayang), which reached Bali from Java, and in a Javanese form;
the percussion orchestra (*gamělan*), also probably from Java;
the masked dance (*topeng*);
the creese, the dagger-like weapon that plays no less a rôle in the life of a Balinese than in that of a Javanese;[42]
the caste system in its Balinese form (*triwangsa*), regarding which see also the essay on the blacksmiths included in this volume;[43]
and many motifs in the plastic arts, the applied arts, and architecture.

4

Modern Balinese History: A Cultural Mosaic

175 An analysis such as the one above can serve to give more definite colour and shape to the general categories 'early indigenous', 'Hindu-Balinese', and 'Hindu-Javanese'. A culture, however, is an integrated entity; the elements live and move in conjunction with each other. Hence the analytic résumé given above should be followed by a scrutiny of these elements' integration, the cultural mosaic.

The period after the end of Majapahit's colonization and rule of Bali, approximately the years from 1500 to 1900, was of vast importance for that integration. The many conflicts between rulers and vassals and between vassals among themselves were sometimes of political, but rarely of cultural, significance. Nor is there any evidence of important influences from outside. The Dutch East India Company did not maintain any intensive contact with Bali, nor did the island come into any direct touch with Moslem spheres of influence. Hence in those four centuries Bali was left to itself to absorb the earlier influences from elsewhere. A process of interpenetration developed, with the result that the difference between the royal sphere and the popular sphere became largely one of gradation. The evidences of the process are to be found throughout Bali, though it is often hard to determine exactly how, when, and to what extent the various components contributed to the pattern existing today.

[177] Geographically, central Bali is the part of the island where the Hindu-Javanese influence can today be detected most clearly.

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In the Gelgel period there must have been a sort of feudal system: the rulers awarded lands to the peers of the realm as apanages. Most of those lands were apparently located in fertile central Bali, which was probably populous even then.

The 'land north of the mountains' (Buleleng), Karangasĕm, and the central Balinese mountain areas stayed outside the reach of the system; even more so did Jĕmbrana. The power of the rulers was uncertain in those regions (in various of which, as the reader will remember, resistance had been strongest at the time of the Majapahit expeditions).[44] Hence the ruler and his officials interfered much less in the *desa* system, with the result that many institutions in those areas were preserved in an older form.[45] The inhabitants there are sometimes referred to as *Bali-aga*, 'original Balinese'. The term is somewhat misleading, for it might give the impression that they are free of Hindu influences, which is not the case. Old Balinese edicts dating from the tenth century have been found in mountain *desas* such as Sĕmbiran, Tĕrunyan, and Dausa[46] – edicts dealing with those villages themselves or other places in the vicinity. This fact points towards the existence of an influence from the older Hindu-Balinese royal sphere. The later, Javanese-Balinese influences, however, have been much weaker in these mountain regions than in the region of the great apanages. The *Bali-aga*, then, should not be characterized as 'original Balinese', but as 'non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese'.[47]

The period of relatively undisturbed development came to an end first in northern Bali. In 1849 that part of the island was forced to recognize Dutch suzerainty, and in 1882 it was placed under the direct administration of the Netherlands East Indies government. The southern Balinese principalities followed in the first years of the twentieth century. Bali was made a part of the federal state of East Indonesia in 1946, and together with the rest of the state was incorporated in the unitary Republic of Indonesia in August, 1950.

Let us, on the basis of a few clear-cut examples, now attempt to form a picture of the interplay of the elements of Balinese culture.

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175 792 In historical times Wira Dalĕm Kesari is mentioned as the founder of the temple. In him we can probably see the Kesari Warmadewa of an inscription dating from around 913 A.D.[55] In that day the temple may have been a Buddhist sanctuary, and at the same time the state temple of the Warmadewa dynasty. Even up to the present century the rule has been observed that only a Buddhist *pĕdanda* accompanying the ruler as his court priest may enter Pura Bĕsakih. Later the founder of the dynasty of Gelgel was brought into a special relation with Mahadewa, the deity of Pura Bĕsakih.[56] Two temple charters dating from around 1450 probably owe their origin to that prince. Since that time the deified dead of the dynasty have been worshipped in Bĕsakih, and the temple has thus become the royal ancestral sanctuary, first of Gelgel and later of Klungkung. It is, then, not surprising that a charter also mentions *merus*[57] for five rulers of the Gelgel dynasty.

The Hindu trinity is also associated with the temple of Bĕsakih.[58] Such a connection with the highest gods of the Hindu pantheon is quite in keeping with the important place of the temple in the Balinese world picture.[59]

It can be seen, then, that various elements of Balinese culture and religion have contributed to the complex of phenomena related with Bĕsakih temple as it is today.

(*e*) The *Usana Bali*, discussed above, was a product of the royal sphere, written at the Javanized court at Gelgel. A copy of it, however, is to be found among the sacred manuscripts of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, a traditional *desa* with an *adat* like that of the *Bali-aga*, the non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese. Moreover the *Usana* considers Balinese religion and culture as imported from India. But when one scrutinizes the religious festivals and ceremonies listed in it, one wonders how Hindu gods could have imported elements which appear to have been early indigenous rather than Hindu.

545 198 (*f*) As a final point reference may be made to the 'interpreters' on the Balinese stage. When the hero and heroine in some *genres* of Balinese drama recite their parts they do so in a sort of Java-

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178 to disappear, until there are *desas* with one *klihan* and one *pĕnyarikan*, or finally with a *klihan* who is at the same time *pĕnyarikan*. In all this development a force can be detected towards substitution of a monolithic system of village authority for the old bipartite *desa* administration and replacement of the old indigenous set-up by Hindu forms of royal power and religious penetration (in temple administration).

624 This evolution is to be seen in every field. Though in earlier times the *kĕbayans* were the chief officiants in the temples, eventually they had to give way to the *pĕmangkus*, with the villages where *kĕbayans* and *pĕmangkus* are both represented in the village administration forming an intermediate stage. Whereas in earlier times the supreme authority in the village also was in the hands of the *kĕbayans*, in northern Bali (and very frequently in older villages in Karangasĕm) they were replaced by the *pasĕk*,[40] a sole hereditary village head (as opposed to the pair of *kĕbayans*, who had attained their position owing to seniority). An even newer type is the *bĕndesa*, first under the *pasĕk*, then on an equal footing, and finally superior to him. But this village head in turn has had to give way to the most recent functionary, the *klihan*.

175 This evolution can perhaps best be summarized as follows. Originally the *desa* was divided into two phratries, with one set of functionaries for each phratry and with the highest social authority in the village coinciding completely with the highest priestly function. Then came a tendency towards monism, imported by Hinduism, and as a result a concentration of the village administration in the hands of a single person, as was desired by the Hindu ruler, and in the religious sphere a division of functions between this single secular village authority and the religious officiants in the temples (no longer village authorities).

621 Though even now a large number of villages of the traditional type which have been able to maintain themselves despite every pressure testify to the older Balinese situation, the vast majority of the Balinese *desas* demonstrate that on the village level, as elsewhere, the system of thought is no longer essentially indigenous Austronesian in character, but Hindu-Balinese.

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The State Temples of Mĕngwi

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the principality of Mĕngwi, once renowned in the history of Bali, was worsted in battle by the surrounding princedoms of Badung, Tabanan, and Gianyar. The territory was annexed by the victors, and that *status quo* was maintained after Dutch authority was established in southern Bali in the years 1906–1908. As late as 1938, when the principalities were re-established on Bali, the descendants of the earlier dynasty attempted to have Mĕngwi restored, but for various reasons their wish was not granted.

In this connection it is of importance to point out that the arrangements made by the former ruling house of Mĕngwi for the maintenance of two of its state temples and the periodical offering ceremonial there still obtain, despite the fall of the political unit.

These two state temples are situated in the extreme north of the present region of Badung, in the former sub-district of Charangsari, which stretches to the north in a narrow strip to where the mountains to the east of Lake Bratan and Mount Pĕngelengan level off as the Chatur Plateau. In Balinese terminology both temples are mountain sanctuaries (*puras puchak* or *puras bukit*). They are called Pura Puchak Bon and Pura Puchak Tiingan, after the villages in whose territories they are located.

The *pĕmaksan*, the worship group in the more restricted sense charged with maintaining the temple grounds and buildings and caring for the performance of the offering ceremonials, consists of the villages in the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* of Pĕlaga, Bĕlok, Sidan, and Tiingan. The villages included in these *pĕrbĕkĕlans* are shown in Table 1.

It should be pointed out that at the present time the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* Pĕlaga and Bĕlok have been consolidated into one administrative

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792 all four of the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* whose core villagers constitute the state-temple worship group. The function is hereditary in the family of Jĕro Wayan Rawi, who succeeded his father as temple *pĕmangku*. To indicate the special dignity of the post he is referred to as *pĕmangku gĕde*.

According to Jĕro Wayan Rawi, the chief deity of Pura Puchak Tiingan is considered to be the husband of the reputedly female [776] deity residing at the state temple at Bon. This relation is given expression by referring to the two deities as *lanang-istĕri*, male and female.

There are some ten chapels in Pura Puchak Tiingan. In appearance the most important of these is the one for the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, who has an eleven-roofed *meru* as his residence. To the east of this is a *meru* with five roofs dedicated to the deity of Mount Bon.

792 For both temples the anniversary falls on a full moon: that of 527 Pura Puchak Tiingan on full moon in the fourth month, Kapat, 796 and that of Bon on full moon in the tenth month, Kadasa. It is interesting that the date of the Bon temple anniversary was recently changed: before that it fell on full moon in the eighth month, Kaulu. The holiday was shifted on request, since the new date was more convenient for a number of *desas*.

792 Among the villagers of Tiingan the belief is widespread that both 175 the state temple at Tiingan and the one at Bon still 'belong' to the descendants of the former Mĕngwi dynasty. Supervision over the proper maintenance of the temples and collection of the accompanying levies was traditionally entrusted to the family of the lords of Charangsari. I failed to verify which family might be meant, but it can hardly refer to anyone but the last *mancha* of Charangsari, I Gusti Ngurah Rai Pachung, who took his life in the autumn of 1932 by throwing himself into the deep ravine of the Ngongkong River. A son of the *mancha* was I Gusti Ngurah Rai, the well-known commander of the nationalist troops on Bali who was killed in the battle of Marga, in Tabanan, on 20 November, 1947. On the anniversary of his death in 1949 progressive nationalist groups organized a large-scale memorial celebration which

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lasted several days and roused interest even in remote parts of Bali. A moderate tone dominated the celebration, at least to all appearances. Invitations to attend the commemoration were sent to the regional and central Balinese authorities. Among the motives preventing the ruler of Badung (of the Paměchutan family) from being present at the ceremony, the old controversy between the dynasties of Badung and Měngwi will in all probability have played a rôle.

Everywhere on Bali history has deep roots, though it rarely leaves clear traces. Factual historiography is alien to the Balinese, and there is a tendency to mythologize important historical personages and events. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the after-effects of certain events are to be felt for so long. In the Měngwi area the system of state temples helps to keep the memory of the days of political and dynastic glory alive. A more or less latent but quite general feeling of political discontent is still to be found in the area. Before the war this feeling found expression in certain nuances in governability, and it is not out of the question that such matters will also make themselves felt in the growing national and political consciousness of the present day.

It has already been pointed out that in popular parlance the relation between the state temples and the dynasty of Měngwi is given expression in the statement that the sanctuaries 'belong' to the erstwhile royal family. Nonetheless the Abiansěmal district head is recognized as the person directly in charge of maintenance of the temple, and it is considered natural that the reigning family of Badung should participate in ceremonies at the dynastic sanctuaries of the former house of Měngwi. There is a clear realization that in this relationship between temple and dynasty a tie is involved of a higher order than can be expressed in such terms as 'property' or 'ownership'.

A temple becomes a state sanctuary because the ruler participates in its cult. As a result of that participation the sanctuary is given a sort of legitimation in the eyes of everyone under the authority of the ruler – also of those who belong to upper castes, for the ruler, in the exercise of his functions, is considered as the

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After he has been killed the *patih*'s men have a very arduous re- 533
turn journey, since nature is preparing to avenge the murder. 539
Badly battered, the troops come home. Layon Sari is then asked in marriage by the *anak agung*, but she commits suicide in order not to abandon Jayaprana.

The ballad is known throughout Bali. Many *desas* have one or more copies of it among their *lontars*, and it enjoys particular in- [218]
terest. It is much staged in the *arja*, the folk theatre. The metre lends itself particularly well to the high, thin voices of young girls which people hear with pleasure. For this reason all the young girls in northern Bali know the poem by heart, so it is said.

The ballad has become further known through the activities of the reading clubs.[4] It was published in *Djataju*, a pre-war Balinese monthly, and was selected to be included in part in an anthology of Balinese literature intended for teacher-training courses. Pupils at the grammar schools at Singaraja have staged it as a play in a kind of modern adaptation.[5] Not only is the tale universally known on Bali, but it has also been spread on Java through a Javanese translation, or adaptation, made by Mas Nitisastra.[6]

THE DESA KALIANGĔT

Kaliangĕt lies in northern Bali in the principality of Buleleng, 621
some ten miles to the west of the capital, Singaraja, and a mile south of the coastal road. In every respect, Banjar, which is situated to the east of Kaliangĕt and is the seat of the *punggawa*, or district officer, is a more important centre.

Banjar and its environs, the flat *sawah* area as well as the moun- 175 ●
tains beginning due south, were the scene of much fighting in the 621
first years after the war. The resistance movement found a great following among the population there, and in such a situation accidents were bound to happen. The *punggawa* himself was among the victims of the struggle for liberty. The *desa* proved to be reluctant to come into contact with Dutch people.[7] The recent struggle against the Dutch had not been the first in its history:

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in 1868 the Banjarese took part in a battle in which a Dutch expeditionary force was repulsed.

Kaliangĕt is known as a poor *desa*. Few people have *sawahs*, and the inhabitants seek work elsewhere as wage earners, either in the neighbourhood or on the coffee plantations in the hills. (A marriage is also often a motive to forsake the *desa* completely, so that even in the village proper there are vacant compounds.) The *desa* lies on the last spurs of the mountain slopes, on the fringe of the irrigable *sawah* area.

Health conditions along the whole of the northern coast of Bali and the steep mountain slopes are bad. Especially during the seasonal shift of the monsoon, epidemics frequently break out, with many people dying. People often impute such deaths to black magic, which they themselves also practice. The many cases of eye disease there are also generally ascribed to it, as well as those of insanity.

Considering its penurious state, plus the general post-war condition of scarcity and the loss of lives through the disorders of the past years, it is understandable that the *desa* of Kaliangĕt should ponder on ways of bettering circumstances and life in general. Any attempt at improvement had, in the first instance, to be undertaken in the religious field. Calamities revive the feeling that the people have been negligent in that sphere. On Bali after the war there was a true religious revival, discernible in the fulfilment of duties towards the gods and expressing itself in temple restoration, cremation, and so forth. This is a normal phenomenon. The unusual feature of the Jayaprana festival did not lie therein, but in the way that feeling found its expression.

Kaliangĕt is not a *Bali-aga desa*, a village with traditions dating from the pre-Hindu period, such as the neighbouring Sidatapa, and consequently cremation is regarded as the legitimate method of disposing of the dead.

JAYAPRANA AND KALIANGĔT

In Kaliangĕt there is a temple dedicated to Jayaprana, Pura Jaran Guyang. With the help of surrounding *desas* this temple was

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restored in 1934, after which the name was changed to Pura Pariang Wiswa Mapwa. People in the *desa* are of the opinion that the *pura* has an age of a hundred ninety *abads*, each *abad* now being considered as eighty years, though formerly the period was longer.

The village also possesses Jayaprana's compound and a gigantic rice-pounding block. Pura Prabu, at the southern boundary of the *desa*, is considered to be connected with the ruler or *prabu* who was responsible for Jayaprana's murder.

Even in the period before the war there must have been a plan in the *desa* for the cremation of Jayaprana. At that time the execution of the plan was prevented by the poverty of the *desa*, though *desa* members were convinced that a cremation festival would bring deliverance from their sufferings. The idea was kept alive by a number of tales about encounters with the spirit of Jayaprana. A grave was established for him shortly before the war: it lies in the place where he was murdered, in northwestern Bali.

Jayaprana had long wished to return to Kaliangĕt, and he conveyed his desire to the people by bringing about mysterious accidents. Moreover he brought blessings to the *desa*. There is a story, for instance, that a cloudburst which would not cease was brought under control by Jayaprana after the *desa* had promised to repair an offering platform in his temple. In difficult circumstances people often make such promises. And one finds offering platforms in a state of collapse in almost every temple.

THE BALIAN OF BAKUNG

Two miles to the south of Singaraja is the *desa* of Bakung. There lives a *balian* (a person who discharges a function in the religious services of the *desa* and in particular maintains contact with the gods) who in recent years has enjoyed great renown as a medium conjuring up the dead. The Chinese, especially, make use of his services, as through him they can converse with the dead person in Chinese, hear how he fares, and even settle current business with him.

The rumour of this *balian*'s fame reached the village elders of Kaliangĕt, and they paid three visits to him. The festival owed

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693 certain instances these latter officials receive a payment of ten per
694 cent. of the fines, and sometimes a flat fee of a thousand doits, for their services. The judges do not receive any special personal compensation, though the portion of the fines that goes into the village treasury is considered as a payment for adjudication. In case of refusal to abide by a verdict a variety of methods of pressure can be applied in a prescribed order, the final one being that the recalcitrant person is expelled from the *desa* and all his property confiscated.

4

Legislation

671 As has already been mentioned at various points, a large part of Tĕngananese *adat* consists of written law. The village constitution is highly revered, and the *kĕbayans desa* know it almost by heart. It is only with the greatest of diffidence that a verdict not based on the constitution is pronounced. It is true that the order of succession in which the *klihans bahan* serve as judges makes it possible for modern ideas to win ground, but on the other hand it should be remembered that even the youngest *bahans* have been brought up to revere the traditional institutions, while a person who has lost a case will not easily acquiesce in a verdict contrary to *adat*.

175 The constitution is a record of what the villagers were able to
671 recall of an old charter which was lost in the fire in the year 1763 *Çāka* (1841 A.D.). It was recorded with the approval of the *dewa agung putra* of Klungkung and I Gusti Ngurah Made of Karangasĕm by the court scribes I Made Gianyar and I Gĕde Gurit, who sojourned in Tĕnganan for some time in 1842 for the purpose.

646 This constitution is amended in an extraordinary way. If a legal question arises in the *desa* and the constitution does not provide a solution, a decision is taken, on analogy with other stipulations in the constitution, by a majority vote. Such a vote is not sufficient to make a decision a binding regulation, however. It is then announced to all the people of the *desa* proper, whether *desa* members or not, thus including the people living in the *banjar* of Pande

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(but not those of Kěstala and Gumung). After some time, when the emotions of the parties involved have calmed, the people are asked whether there is anyone who is not in favour of adding the new regulation to the constitution. This may not be done as long as one single person declares himself opposed to it. Hence it sometimes takes years before such a regulation can be incorporated in the constitution, and in the meantime other questions will perhaps have arisen, so that the constitution may be extended considerably in one fell swoop. In this way no less than fourteen articles were added to the constitution in 1925. Legislation, then, is a very slow process in Tĕnganan, and the method of amending the constitution must seem a veritable nightmare to those legal experts who believe that a simple majority should be sufficient for all constitutional changes.

As regards the 'legislation' of the lower legal communities, the young people's associations and some of the *sĕkahas charik* have drafted constitutions, with the approval of the *desa* meeting. The *banjar* of Pande has had its constitution approved by I Made Pĕguyangan, and the *banjar* of Kĕstala its basic law by I Gusti Nyoman Rai, while that of the three *tempeks* was granted by I Gusti Bagus Pĕguyan and I Gusti Gĕde Rai, all of them worthies of the realm of Karangasĕm. The Kĕstala constitution stipulates that all matters not provided for in it are to be settled by majority vote.

Among the *desa* records are also several edicts of the ruler of Karangasĕm regarding services and levies due to him.

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to create councils in each region of Bali, plus an all-Bali council above them. Acceptance of the proposal would mean that the existing Karangasĕm council had to give up various powers, and not only Anak Agung Agung seriously objected to this, but also all but one of the council members. That one was the Tĕnganan-anese I Nĕngah Tanggu, who declared himself in favour of the proposal for two reasons. "We are all Balinese", he declared, "no matter where we live, and so it is logical for Balinese affairs to be handled by an all-Bali council." And moreover: "We must have confidence in the government at Batavia, which is certainly of good will in regard to the Balinese." Anak Agung Agung Jĕ-lantik labelled this the answer that might be expected from the *Bali-aga*.

In earlier times the *desa* of Tĕnganan was even more independent of the royal administration than it is today. No services were rendered and no taxes were paid, either in money or in kind. Each year the *desa* presented the ruler a tributary gift in lieu of meeting royal rights such as the claim to property of people dying without children, the usual fees on weddings, and land taxes, and each year a fifth of that gift was returned to the *desa* as a sign that the relationship between the ruler and the village was to continue in the same way.

The war with Sibĕtan cost Tĕnganan a part of its independence. According to the Tĕngananese, this war took place roughly two hundred years ago, and the dating must be more or less accurate, for the *Kaki Wayan Karangasĕm mur ring Juring* of Tĕnganan tradition can, I believe, be identified as the second Balinese prince to hold sway over Karangasĕm and Lombok. This ruler came to the aid of Tĕnganan against its highly remarkable neighbouring *desa* Sibĕtan, but his assistance had to be rewarded by the cession of several *sawahs* (which are still the property of Anak Agung Agung of Karangasĕm and certain private individuals), by the introduction of a *pajĕg* levy for part of the Tĕngananese *sawahs*, and by soccage service to the court. Desiring to protect Tĕnganan against Sibĕtan for all time, Kaki Wayan of Karangasĕm also ordered the creation of a frontier guard of a few families from

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175 628 Tĕnganan, to whom the *desa* was required to grant all the *sawahs* in the irrigation district Yeh Sayan on a permanent share-crop basis. This frontier community has become Kĕstala, where since then persons of the *desa* who could not be allowed to remain in the *banjar* of Pande have been banished.

In this connection it should be pointed out that according to a report from Controleur Buys Ballot the *pajĕg sawahs* in Naga Sungsang came into being in the following way: two worthies of Karangasĕm, Gusti Kĕtut Mumbul and Gusti Wayan Karang, gave permission to the Tĕngananese I Rana and I Mandra to convert their *tĕgalan* lands into *sawahs* (an act prohibited by *adat*), with the proviso that for the first five years after conversion the full yield was to go to the two *gustis*, and thenceforth two-thirds of it. Later a controversy developed between the descendants of the two Tĕngananese and those of the two *gustis* regarding the exorbitant *pajĕg*, and the ruler took over the *pajĕg* levy and reduced it to one-tenth of the yield.

643 651 628 The ruler kept a part of the *pajĕg* rights in his own hands, and passed on a part to court favourites as apanage rights; the latter sort of levy was known as *pajĕg pĕnirian*. He also sold a part of his rights to the *desa* of Tĕnganan, which has continued to collect the *pajĕg* from the *sawah* holders. Some irrigation districts were not subject to the *pajĕg*, and all dry fields were exempt. The *pajĕg* was set once and for all for each irrigation district, and new *sawahs* were *pajĕg*-free. Why certain irrigation districts, namely Yeh Buah, Yeh Singa, and Babitunu, had been exempted from *pajĕg* the Tĕngananese were unable to say, though regarding Yeh Singa it was suggested that the reason may have been that the district did not contain any *sawahs* belonging to the *desa*.

The *pajĕg* was not heavy: for the eleven irrigation districts subject to it, it amounted to a total of roughly 960 imperial hundredweights of paddy, 133 of which were *pajĕg pĕnirian*. Expressed in present-day terms, the total value of the whole *pajĕg* would amount to roughly two hundred forty pounds sterling.

The ruler permitted a reduction in *pajĕg* in case of crop failure; whether such a reduction would be allowed was determined when

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175 567 167 Today the beauty of the Balinese has been exploited to exhaustion in travelogues and by tourist agencies, but as far back as 1619 records mention that Balinese women were in great demand in the slave markets of Bourbon (Reunion), where "they brought as much as 150 florins." The traffic in Balinese slaves continued until 1830, and today there is a colony of Balinese in Batavia, the descendants of former slaves. Their 142 reputation for beauty is well justified: the majority of the population are handsome, with splendid physique and with a dignified elegance of bearing, in both men and women of all ages. From [482] childhood the women walk for miles carrying heavy loads on [147] their heads; this gives them a great co-ordination of movement, a poised walk and bodily fitness. Old women retain their strength [887] and do not become bent hags. We were astonished at times to discover that the slender, straight silhouette we had admired from a distance belonged to an old lady with grey hair, walking with ease under forty or fifty pounds of fruit or pottery. Unless physically disabled, elderly people never admit that they are too old or too weak for activity; to "give up" would be dangerous to physical and spiritual health and would render a person vulnerable to attacks of a supernatural character.

Ordinarily free of excessive clothing, the Balinese have small but well-developed bodies, with a peculiar anatomical structure of simple, solid masses reminiscent of Egyptian and Mycenæan sculptures: wide shoulders tapering down in unbroken lines to flexible waists and narrow hips; strong backs, small heads, and firm full breasts. Their slender arms and long legs end in delicate hands and feet, kept skilful and alive by functional use and dance training. Their faces have well-balanced features, expressive eyes, small noses, and full mouths, and their hair is thick and glossy. Because they are tanned by the sun, their golden-brown skin appears generally darker than it really is, and when seen at a distance, people bathing are considerably whiter around their middles, where the skin is usually covered by clothes, giving the 000 impression that they wear light-coloured pants. Watching a

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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destroyed by a plague supposedly brought by the dreadful witch Rangda, queen of evil spirits, who was, according to historians, Erlangga's own mother. Out of the mythical struggle between the magic of the witch and that of the great king, arose the legend *Tjalon Arang* (see Chapter X) that made Erlangga the most famous figure of Balinese mythical history.

In later years Bali became independent of Java, but was again subjugated in 1284 by the army of Kertanagara, the king of Singasari (of the Tumapel dynasty). Singasari was destroyed eight years later by the new dynasty of Madjapahit, and Bali again became free, only to be reconquered in 1343 by General Gadja Mada for King Radjasanagara, under whom the entire Archipelago became a vassal of Madjapahit. During the next hundred years the power of the empire was undermined by civil wars and revolts in the colonies, and soon the great empire went into decline. The Balinese revolted against Madjapahit time and again, but the uprisings were put down in memorable battles, after which military figures like Arya Damar and Gadja Mada became rulers of Bali and to them the present Balinese aristocracy traces its origin. Gadja Mada was sent to Bali to subjugate the king of the Balinese Pedjeng dynasty, Dalem Bedaulú, who was supposed to have had the head of a pig. He was the owner of the famous horse of Tenganan. Bedaulú was a semi-demoniac character of supernatural origin who refused to recognize Madjapahit supremacy. (See page 37.) He was defeated by Gadja Mada, and Bali once more came under Javanese rule.

The expeditions of Gadja Mada were the last military displays of the empire. In the meantime Mohammedan missionaries were becoming influential in Java and were converting princes who proclaimed themselves sultans of their districts, repudiating their allegiance to Madjapahit. Soon peaceful propaganda turned into armed force; Mohammedan fanatics made war on Madjapahit, which finally collapsed after it was weakened by internal trouble. Stutterheim is of the opinion that the empire's destruction came gradually somewhere about the year 1520.

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175 However, in the more picturesque but less reliable historic records (*babad*) [5] it is stated that Madjapahit fell in 1478 under the reign of Bra Widjaya V (Krtabhumi, according to Stutterheim). Bra Widjaya was told by his chief priest that after forty days the title of Radja of Madjapahit would cease to exist. The king had such implicit faith in the prediction that at the expiration of that time he had himself burned alive. His son, unable to withstand the Mohammedan invasion and not daring to disobey the sentence of the priest, escaped to his last remaining colony; followed by his court, his priests, and his artists, he crossed over into Bali, settling on the south coast of Gelgel, at the foot of the Gunung Agung. There he proclaimed himself the king of Bali, the Dewa Agung, the hereditary title of the Radjas of Klungkung. The Dewa Agung divided the island into principalities which he gave to his relatives and generals to govern. By degrees these local chiefs grew independent of the Dewa Agung and became the Radjas of the smaller kingdoms into which Bali was later divided.[6]

177 175 It was of extreme significance for the cultural development of Bali that in the exodus of the rulers, the priests, and the intellectuals of what was the most civilized race of the Eastern islands, the cream of Javanese culture was transplanted as a unit into Bali. There the art, the religion and philosophy of the Hindu-Javanese were preserved and have flourished practically undisturbed until today. When the fury of intolerant Islamism drove the intellectuals of Java into Bali, they brought with them their classics and continued to cultivate their poetry and art, so that [114] when Sir Stamford Raffles wanted to write the history of Java, he had to turn to Bali for what remains of the once great literature of Java.

THE DUTCH

175 The Balinese princes prospered and soon started out for new colonies, extending their influence to the East and conquering

[5] Raffles: *The History of Java.*

[6] Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan, Mengwi, Bangli, Klungkung, Karangasem, Buleleng and Djimbrana.

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the neighbouring islands of Lombok and Sumbawa. In 1510 the Portuguese adventurer Alphonso de Albuquerque discovered Sumatra and made voyages to the "Spice Islands" to procure valuable cargoes of pepper, cloves, and nutmeg, all the while fighting pirates, hostile Malays, and Javanese. In 1597 a fleet of Dutch ships, headed by a former employee of the Portuguese, Cornelius Houtman, discovered Bali. He and his men fell in love with the island and made excellent friends with the king, a good-natured fat man who had two hundred wives, rode in a chariot drawn by two white buffaloes which he drove himself, and owned fifty dwarfs whose bodies had been distorted into resemblance of kris handles. After a long sojourn in the island, some of the Dutch returned to Holland to report the discovery of the new "paradise"; others refused to leave Bali. The news created such a sensation in Holland that in 1601 the trader Heemskerk was sent to Bali with presents of all sorts for the king, who in turn presented him with a beautiful Balinese lady.

The relations between the Indies and Europe later were darkened by the appearance of the Dutch East India Company, an organization of merchants and traders whose goal was the unlimited exploitation of the islands. They promoted wars, seized lands, established monopolies of opium (if a native was caught selling opium he was put to death), and collected revenues from the natives that were even greater than those exacted by the local princes. The traders used every possible means to gain the favour of the Radjas in order to control Bali, bringing gifts to them of Persian horses, gilt chairs, red cloth, wines, brass candelabra, and so forth. Not meeting with much success, they resorted to political intrigue, selling arms to the enemies of the Balinese while offering assistance against those they had armed, in exchange for concessions.

Meantime the Balinese had completed the conquest of Lombok (1740). There the Dutch tried to influence the Balinese governors to become independent of Bali and join the "Honourable East India Company." After two centuries of ruthless opera-

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tion the company, already bankrupt and decayed, attracted such unfavourable criticism that the Dutch Government was forced to assume control, and in 1798 the Dutch East India Company went into inglorious collapse.

In the following years trouble started for the Balinese; the sultan of Surakarta, in Java, ceded to the Dutch " rights " he did not have over Bali, but they took no steps to claim them. The Balinese princes recognized Dutch supremacy, but retained their local autonomy. In 1846 the question of the ancient right of the Balinese to confiscate the cargo of wrecked ships brought the first Dutch military expedition against North Bali, which, after a series of battles, ended in Dutch control over the northern states of Buleleng and Djimbrana in 1882. The Balinese princes were made to sign a treaty in which piracy, slavery, and the exercise of shore rights were forbidden and in which they promised not to permit the establishment of any other European power in Bali.

In 1885 there was a rebellion of Sasaks, the vassals of the Balinese in Lombok, while in Bali internal wars broke out among the various Radjas. Sasaks were brought to Bali and forced to fight. During these wars the united states of Badung and Klungkung annexed Mengwi and they all turned against the troublesome Radja of Gianjar. The Sasak chiefs complained to the Dutch, asking to be freed from the tyranny of the Balinese princes. The Dutch were becoming alarmed at the friendly advances of the Balinese towards the English, and officials were sent to negotiate a peace. They were unsuccessful and even apologies demanded for insults to the envoys were refused.

THE LOMBOK WAR

In 1894 the Dutch landed an elaborate military expedition in Lombok and sent an ultimatum to the Lombok Radja, who was under the influence of Gusti Gedé Djilantik, Radja of Karangasem, a friend of the Dutch. The terms of the ultimatum were accepted and the Radja agreed to pay a " war indemnity " of one million guilders. Conferences were held between the Balinese

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and the Sasaks, and everybody seemed satisfied. The army remained in the capital for a few weeks giving military demonstrations while waiting for the payment of the indemnity. Soon there were rumours of dissension between the old Radja and the princes, and the Balinese began to appear less friendly; the camps were no longer visited by the princes, and one day the women did not even come to market. This was the signal for the Dutch to prepare for the defence.

That night they were attacked by fierce rifle-fire through holes made in the thick walls of the palaces and houses around the Dutch encampments. Orchestras played continuously and all night the great alarm-drums were beaten. The Dutch returned the fire as well as they could in the darkness, trying to demolish the stone walls of the palace, but without much success. Captain W. Cool, an eyewitness, relates: " The noise was deafening and bullets were falling fast around us. . . . Added to all this was the ear-splitting sound of the tomtoms and the war cries of the Balinese as an accompaniment to the hammering and boring of the walls." Every bivouac was besieged by an invisible foe. On the dawn of the third day the army retreated towards the sea, leaving nearly one hundred dead and three hundred wounded. Among the dead was General Van Ham, second in command. A regiment was taken prisoner and was marched along the lines of Balinese soldiers; Captain Cool tells us that " they were all armed, yet they maintained a respectful attitude. Not an offensive word was said or a threatening hand raised." The starving prisoners were fed with white rice and drinks of orange and coconut water. The wounded were provided with fresh bandages. After a sojourn in the palace they were released with a letter from the Crown Prince stating that he was releasing the prisoners as a gesture of friendship and as proof that he wished to end hostilities. But the letter was ignored by the commander-in-chief, and at the seashore the decimated army erected new fortifications protected by the warships at anchor.

When the news of the defeat reached Java and Holland, the

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175 press flared up with indignation against "the sinister treachery"
648 of the Balinese. Immediately large reinforcements of men and heavy artillery were sent from Java. New fortifications were built and the Sasaks were forced to fight against the Balinese. The offensive was started against the capital, the army advancing cautiously, bombarding the villages along the way, and burning them to the ground after the Sasaks had looted them. Mataram and Tjakra Negara, the two residences of the princes, were shelled and the Dutch succeeded in blowing up their arsenals and rice stores. The city of Mataram was captured first. Men and women, caught unawares, stabbed themselves rather than fall into the hands of the soldiers. Once occupied, Mataram was ordered razed to the ground. Every wall was laid low and all the trees chopped down. The work of destruction took over a month. Next came the attack on Tjakra Negara, the last important city of the Balinese in Lombok. They defended it tenaciously, but could not long resist the effects of artillery, and every palace and house that showed resistance was soon in flames. The Crown Prince, Anak Agung Ktut, the greatest enemy of the Dutch, was killed. The city was taken, the old Radja captured and exiled to Batavia, where he soon died of a broken heart. Thus ended Balinese rule in Lombok. The new conquest cost the Dutch 214 dead and 476 wounded, besides 246 who died of sickness and fatigue.

CONQUEST OF SOUTH BALI

In Bali, things continued in a state of turmoil. The allied states of Badung, Klungkung, and Bangli united to make war on Gianyar. In 1900 the powerful prince of Ubud, Tjokorde Gedé, influenced the Dewa Manggis, Radja of Gianyar, to ask for help from the Dutch Government. An army was sent immediately to protect Gianyar, which was automatically annexed by the Dutch.

In May of 1904 the small Chinese steamer *Sri Koemala*, coming from Borneo, was wrecked and looted in Sanur, on the south coast of Bali. The owners held the Dutch Government respon-

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sible and demanded three thousand silver dollars' damages and the punishment of those culpable. Official embassies were sent to obtain the amount from the Radja of Badung, Anak Agung Madé, who refused. The dickering went on for two years, but finally the Dutch, angered because the prince could not be made to pay, ordered the closing of Badung to all exports and imports and asked the co-operation of the bordering states. All of the independent princes refused to close their frontiers. That was the beginning of the struggle for supremacy between the Dutch and the Balinese Radjas. The people themselves were, for the most part, indifferent. To them the victory of one side or the other meant chiefly a change of masters, somebody else to whom to pay taxes.

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In the fall of 1906 the Radja definitely refused to meet the demands and on the 15th of September a large military expedition landed in Sanur, only three miles from Den Pasar, the capital of Badung. Here the people remained indifferent to the presence of the soldiers, because, being under the influence of the peace-loving Brahmanas, they were unconcerned with the troubles of the Radja. But at dawn of the following day an army of Balinese with golden spears, coming from Den Pasar, made a surprise attack. The fighting went on all day; a few Dutch soldiers were wounded, but hundreds of Balinese were killed in the unequal fight, and by evening the Balinese were forced to retreat. The Dutch remained in Sanur for a few days, occasionally giving concerts for the Balinese, ironically playing the *Sourire d'amour* on their brass band. When the advance on Den Pasar was started, the army was opposed all the way, but when they came to the palace of Kesiman, just outside the town, they found it deserted. There the acting ruler had been killed by a priest in an argument over whether they should oppose the Dutch. It is curious that inside the palace they found two bronze cannon that had belonged to Napoleon, bearing the date 1813 and the Napoleonic "N," together with a number of muskets from 1620.

Early on the morning of September 20 the navy bombarded

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175 648 Den Pasar, shells falling on the palace and the houses of other princes, setting them on fire. This caused the civilian population to flee, leaving the Radja with only about two thousand men. Soon after the bombardment the army was reported near Den Pasar; the Radja expected that the attack would be directed against the main entrance of the palace on the south side, as their military law would require, but unexpectedly the army turned and made for the north. Inside, the household had been worked up to a state of frenzy, almost a trance; everything of value was destroyed and the palace was set on fire. The king, seeing his cause lost, told his followers that to defend the palace was hopeless, but anyone who wished could follow him into a puputan, a "fight to the end." The only honourable thing left for him was to die a dignified death, rather than be exiled like the Radja of Lombok, to die away from Bali, and without the proper rituals of cremation. In a moment the Radja, his Pungawas, his generals, and all his relatives, men and women, were ready, dressed in their best and wearing their finest gold krisses. The women were even more enthusiastic than the men; they were dressed in men's clothes, short white loincloths caught between the legs, covered with jewellery, and with their hair loose. They carried krisses and spears broken in half to be used more effectively at close range. At nine in the morning the fantastic procession left the palace, with the Radja at the head, carried on the shoulders of one of his men, protected by his gold umbrellas of state, staring intently at the road in front of him, and clutching in his right hand his kris of gold and diamonds. He was followed by silent men and entranced women, and even boys joined the procession, armed with spears and krisses. They marched on through what is today the main avenue of Den Pasar towards Kesiman, and when they turned the corner, the Dutch regiment was only three hundred yards away. The commander, astonished at the sight of the strange procession, gave orders to halt; Balinese interpreters from Buleleng spoke to the Radja and his followers, begging them anxiously to stop, but they only walked faster. They came

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within one hundred feet, then seventy feet, then made a mad rush at the soldiers, waving their krisses and spears. The soldiers fired the first volley and a few fell, the Radja among them. Frenzied men and women continued to attack, and the soldiers, to avoid being killed, were obliged to fire continually. Someone went among the fallen people with a kris killing the wounded. He was shot down, but immediately another man took his place; he was shot, but an old woman took the kris and continued the bloody task. The wives of the Radja stabbed themselves over his body, which lay buried under the corpses of the princes and princesses who had dragged themselves over to die upon the body of their king. When the horrified soldiers stopped firing, the women threw handfuls of gold coins, yelling that it was payment for killing them; and if the liberating bullet did not come soon enough, the maddened women stabbed themselves. When they had nearly all been killed, a new group approached, led by the Radja's brother, a twelve-year-old boy who could hardly carry his spear. The interpreters again tried to stop them, but were ignored, and they were all shot down.

The way to the burning palace was now free, except for the hundreds of corpses that covered the road. Everywhere lay broken spears and krisses with gold handles studded with enormous diamonds and rubies in pools of blood. On the side of the Dutch there was only one man killed, a sergeant stabbed by a woman.

In the afternoon of the same day the army attacked the palace of the neighbouring Radja of Pemetjutan, but the Balinese met them with artillery-fire that caused some losses among the Dutch. Near the palace another *puputan* took place: the insane old Radja, dressed in yellow silks and carried in a gold sedan chair, followed by his wives and Pungawas, went out to meet the army after setting the palace on fire. Soon all were killed. When the palace was taken, the last obstacle to the conquest of Badung, the tired soldiers returned to Den Pasar, but their victory tasted of a terrible moral defeat.

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The people returned to their houses. All night long, hurried wholesale cremations were held while the Dutch buried their dead. The next morning a young Pungawa came to see the commander. He said he had been away the day before and had missed being killed with the rest, so he asked to be shot by the soldiers. When he was refused, he drew his kris and stabbed himself before he could be prevented. The Balinese then gave up their arms.

A few days later Gusti Ngurah Agung, the Radja of Tabanan, came with his son to speak to the Resident. He had changed his gold umbrella for a green one in sign of submission. He wanted to surrender on condition that he be allowed to retain his title and have the same rights as the Radja of Gianyar and Karangasem; Resident Liefrink replied coldly that he must be deported from Bali until an answer to his request came from the Government. He would be held in the palace for the night and on the next day would embark for Lombok. Next morning both the Radja and his son were found dead; the son was poisoned, supposedly by an overdose of opium, and the old Radja had cut his throat with a blunt *sirih* knife. Thus the state of Tabanan fell to the Dutch.

Two years later the Dewa Agung of Klungkung remained the only independent Radja, but he was " insolent," and the stories of Lombok, Den Pasar, and Pemetjutan were repeated; an armed force was sent to punish him and another great *puputan* took place in the main avenue of Klungkung; the highest Radja in Bali was killed, with his whole family.

Two of the women who survived the Den Pasar *puputan*, sisters of the Radja, were aunts of Gusti Oka, the young prince in whose house we lived. They are now white-haired old ladies, but they remember every detail of the struggle and one showed me two bullet wounds in her side. Gusti was only two years old at the time and he was rushed to another village with his little cousin, the present Regent of Badung, but Gusti's father was killed and his house destroyed. Another relative of the Radja

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who survived the massacre told us she fainted when she was cut in the face by the spear of a falling man. All she remembers was "the cool hissing of the bullets" in her ears; she added: "like music."[1]

The army remained in Bali until 1914, when it was considered that Balinese resistance was sufficiently controlled, and the army was replaced by a police force. The Dutch then reorganized the Government of the island along the lines it had under the Radjas; those who had been favourable to the Dutch, their allies in Gianyar and Karangasem, were allowed to retain their autocratic rights over the people of their districts and were given certain supremacy over other ruling princes, mostly the descendants of the former Radjas. They were made puppet regents, responsible to the Government for the behaviour of their subjects and for the payment of taxes, which they collect through relatives whom they appoint as chiefs, *pungawa*, of the districts under their control. Each regent is, however, supervised by a Dutch Controller, who is supposed to act as his "elder brother" and whose orders are called recommendations.

NOTE ON MAYA DANAWA

JANE BELO in "A Study of Customs Pertaining to Twins in Bali" (see Bibliography) quotes the legend of Maya Danawa and the origin of Delam Bedaulú from the Balinese manuscript *Usana Bali*:

"It was long ago, in the time when the great mountain, the Gunung Agung, had just been made. A fierce and terrible Detya, Maya Danawa, was in power over the land. He was jealous of the gods and did not allow the people to give them offerings. The gods banded together to fight the demon and a war ensued in which many people were killed.

"Finally Batara Indra was able to overpower Maya Danawa, but in killing him his plan was to make him alive again, dividing him into a male and female part, to become the first Radja of Bali. The spirit of the demon was placed in a coconut flower, and on the slopes of the Gunung Agung the gods came and blessed it, and out of the coconut flower they

[1] The official details, dates, and so forth of the conquest of Den Pasar come from the account of a witness, Dr. H. M. Van Weede: *Indische Reisherinneringen* (Haarlem, 1908).

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517 offshoot of the aristocratic art of India of the seventh and eighth
532 centuries, brought it down to earth, and made it popular property.

Although at the service of religion, Balinese art is not a religious art. An artist carves ludicrous subjects in the temples or embellishes objects of daily use with religious symbols, using them purely as ornamental elements regardless of their significance. The Balinese carve or paint to tell the only stories they know — those created by their intellectuals, the religious teachers of former times.

THE STORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALINESE ART

175 The art history of Bali runs parallel to the history of the island
53 itself. When Bali became a colony of Java, the conquering aristocracy brought their art with them, and every political event in Java has had a powerful influence in the development of Balinese culture. Thus, the early classic period of Javanese art corresponds also to a classic period in Bali, and when the mother country suffered disturbances and transformations, these were reflected in Balinese art, until Islamism and political chaos severed all connections between the two islands, and Hinduism had to find refuge in Bali. As the island became the centre of a new empire and no longer a province of Java, the Balinese natives took over the art of the exiled aristocracy, transformed it to suit their taste, and a typical Balinese art came into being.

Nothing definite is known of the art of pre-Hindu Bali, but
174 we know that the old Indonesian had a culture of its own, per-
53 haps like the present one of the people of Nias and the Bataks of Sumatra, to whom the Balinese are in many ways akin. They worked metals, especially iron for the making of magic krisses; cultivated rice, had a well-organized administration, kept domestic animals, and made splendid textiles. Outside of a stone sarcophagus, some bronze bracelets and arrow-heads found in Petang, probably belonging to people of Hinduistic affiliation,

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agination of the Balinese, perhaps because it is the shape of the "Rice Mother" (*ninì pantun*), a sheaf of rice dressed into the shape of a *tjilí*. This would indicate that the mysterious figure was connected with, or derived from, the deities of rice and fertility, either Dewi Sri or Melanting, also goddesses of beauty and seed respectively. Again, the shape of the great offerings (*kebógan*), a pyramid of fruit topped by a fan of flowers and palm-leaf, is also a *tjilí*, so stylized however that only the pyramidal skirt and the flower head-dress remain. This became evident when we saw in Kesiman, alongside the usual form of offerings, one six feet tall made into a realistic *tjilí*, her skirt of melons, ears of corn, oranges, *djambú*, and *salak*, her torso of frangipani flowers (*djepón*), and her face a smiling wooden mask with great ear-plugs and a fan of flowers as a head-dress. *Tjilís* are often so stylized that simply a palm-leaf fan with two loops (the ear-plugs or breasts) is called a *tjilí*. I became intensely intrigued by the persistence of this shape in so many of the ritual objects and was determined to find in it some religious significance; I asked all sorts of people about *tjilís*, from high priests to old women offering-makers, but they all insisted that they were purely ornamental forms appropriate for offerings because they were beautiful. The word *tjilí* means "small and nice," rather in the sense in which we use the term "cute." Whatever its origin, the *tjilí* is today nothing more than a beautiful abstract feminine motif.

OLD HINDU BALINESE ART

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conch-shells. Bali was already a colony of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The

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175 53 Sailendras where Mahayanic Buddhists, and their highly developed art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century

[531]

Tjili of Woven Palm-Leaf

and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java

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were built, the Buddhist *Borobudur* and the Sivaist *Lora Djo-* 175 ●
ngrang in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared 53
mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings

[531]

Tjilí of Palm-Leaf from the Top of an Offering

in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the [172]

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175 53 [172] ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanú, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an in-

[531]

Tjilis from Lamaks

tegral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time, and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, who had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts, Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings' tombs" in *Gunung Kawi* near Tampaksiring.

172 211 Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following:

[Text continues on page 176]

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THE PERIOD OF MADJAPAHIT

175 After the death of Erlangga, Java went once more into decadence as a power, and various frustrated attempts to regain its former glory followed. During this period the hold on Bali relaxed and the island regained its political independence until the fourteenth century, when the new East Javanese empire of Madjapahit finally conquered its enemies and became supreme over the archipelago. Bali was made a vassal of Madjapahit, A.D. 1343, after vigorous campaigns against the famed Dalam Bedaulu, last of the Pedjeng dynasty and now classed as a mythical demon of great power.

After Bali was conquered, the generals of Madjapahit established a new dynasty of Javanese colonial rulers in Gelgel near Klungkung. A century later Madjapahit collapsed under the pressure of Islam, and Javanese rule finally gave way to a number of independent Balinese feudal lords, the descendants of the Javanese nobility, who were scattered all over the island. But in the period of years between the classic Sailendras and parvenu Madjapahit the art of Java suffered a great transformation, which was similarly felt in Bali. Under King Rayasanagara (Rajasanagara), better known by his native name *Hayam Wuruk*, Madjapahit became the most powerful empire of Indonesia, but being strong nationalists, the Javanese of Madjapahit had repudiated the esoteric classic spirit and had reverted to native ideas, with the result that their art became strongly Javanized. Having lost its austerity and primitivism in the process, their art became earthly and realistic, taking the character of a sensuous folk-art, intricate and essentially decorative, with a predominance of flaming motifs, volutes and spirals, leaves and flowers, animals and scenes from daily life; losing altogether its religious character.

175 177 532 [531]

Balinese art of the epoch of Madjapahit and its continuation went even further in the love of unrestrained decoration and developed a freer and more fantastic art than that of Java of

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kris to represent him, as for instance a judge who is sick and cannot attend a trial. In certain cases the marriage of a prince to a woman of the lower castes is performed by proxy in the form of the kris of her future husband. A new kris must be made "alive" by a priest, who blesses it in a special ceremony, reciting magic formulas over it and inscribing imaginary signs over the blade, while its owner dedicates an offering. Ancient krisses are kept alive with offerings of flowers and incense; a neglected and rusty kris is said to be dead.

The economic status of a man is determined by the richness of his kris, and a good part of his fortune is invested in the gold and jewels that decorate it. Only the blade is sacred, and the gold parts, the precious stones and ivory can be pawned in case of need and turned into cash. There are krisses worth thousands of guilders, covered with beaten gold, with handles shaped like gods or demons and set with enormous rubies and rose diamonds. Such are the famous krisses of the kings of South Bali taken by the Dutch as war booty at the time of the great mass-suicide of Den Pasar in 1906, now among the star pieces of the Batavia Museum. These fancy jewelled krisses were made to be worn on state occasions, while simpler ones were used for actual fighting, with more practical wooden handles shaped to ensure a good grip.

Gold hilts with precious stones are of course the most stylish, but there are also some made of horn, ebony, and other precious woods, with a heavy base (*bebataran*) of gold set with rubies and a small ring, of gold and rubies also, between the hilt and the blade. There is a great variety of kris handles, but a particularly interesting model is that called *kotjet-kotjetan*, the representation in ebony of the chrysalis of a large beetle with long antennæ.

The sheath not only protects the kris from outside influences, both physical and magic, but also insulates the vibrations emanating from the kris itself, which may act dangerously on human beings. The sheaths of the super-ornate krisses are of wood

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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Maospahit, as the corruption has it. Balinese trace their ancestry to Madjaphit as Americans do to the Pilgrim Fathers. Thousands of temples have shrines named Madjapahit, usually ornamented with the carved head of a deer. Perhaps 90 per cent of the Balinese who give offerings at these temples do not know what the name stands for in historical fact.

14th century to 1906. This was a period of little interchange between Java, a Mohammedanized country, and Bali, which remained Hinduistic. Some trade relations were maintained, chiefly through the intermediacy of the Chinese. All currency in Bali was Chinese cash. Bali, a rich rice producing country, traded its surplus rice to the Chinese for gold, which was in turn beaten up to make golden flowers for the headdresses of children and gold leaf ornamentation for orchestral instruments and ceremonial objects. The "culture system" by which the colonials attempted to modify the agricultural output of Java was not introduced in Bali. With the exception of a small Dutch garrison maintained in the north of the island, Bali was free of European influence, virtually unsubjugated.

1906 *to* 1908. The Dutch, making an incident of the looting of a Chinese vessel which was wrecked on the south shore, landed troops in order to bring the island under control. It was at this time that the famous encounter took place, in which a number of the nobility and their followers marched out in the face of Dutch guns and committed mass suicide, turning their sacred krisses upon themselves. Of the seven ruling kings in Bali, two who resisted were deposed, but close relatives of theirs were installed as regents, so that the continuity of the hereditary ruling line in the several kingdoms was not broken. *Radjas* who capitulated retained their rank, also with the status of regents. Indirect rule was set up, the Dutch official rule linking the island with the administrative center at Batavia, Java.

1908 *to* 1942. Though Bali was now a part of the Netherlands Indies' *Binnenland Bestuur* (Interior Administration), the feeling between Java and Bali continued rather distant. Balinese tended even towards the end of this period, in the 1930's, to look upon Javanese with suspicion. Probably the greatest chasm between these neighboring peoples was the difference in food habits laid down in the differing religions. The Javanese did not eat pig, a favorite Balinese food and one of the chief export products. Dutch ships carrying Balinese pigs

[1] Belo, 1936, p. 12.

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for export sailed to Singapore, bypassing Java, because of the Moslem pig scruple. Javanese, on the other hand, tended to look on the Balinese as boors, a people with a distantly related heritage which might have allowed them to become as "refined" (*aloes*) as the Javanese, but who somehow missed. This sense of distance remained although Balinese students who reached the higher educational levels under the school system were transferred to Java to pursue their studies in normal and professional schools. An *Anak Bali* (Balinese) was still very different from an *Anak Djawa* (Javanese) though they had learned to speak a common language and read the same books—about as different as a Frenchman from an Italian, though not as different as a Frenchman from a German. At a conference on Balinese culture arranged by the Java Institute in 1937, Javanese scholars and princes looked with mild interest and amusement for the first time at Balinese versions of the same legends and themes the Javanese perform, while the Balinese comment was "the Javanese style is so slow we go to sleep."

February 21, 1942 *to March* 2, 1946. During the period of the invasion and occupation by Japanese forces, Balinese resources were depleted to supply Japanese troops; food, clothing, and building materials became very scarce. Japanese propaganda fed in at this time stressed the "Asia for the Asiatics" theme in an attempt to consolidate the feeling of Balinese, Javanese, and other Indonesians to bring them together in a revolt against European influence. It appears that only a few of the younger Balinese in the urban centers found this propaganda to their taste, while the majority tended to consider any proposed Javanization an affront to their religion and an attempt to abolish the caste system about which their whole real and symbolic life is structured. In other words, Balinese responded to Japanese proselyting as they had in former years to any attempts to Mohammedanize or Christianize them, by a reiteration of their desire to be themselves and to preserve their own way of life. Nonetheless, political unrest stirred up at this time created, with the introduction of political factions, a closer tie with Java than had been present under the more peaceable Netherlands' rule.

1946 *to* 1948. After an initial period of chaos, during which the Japanese authorities were no longer present and new authorities had not yet been established, political strife was at its peak, and the action of the young Republican leaders in Java carried reverberations to Bali. To remove the eastern islands from the political impasse in which divided Java found itself, the Dutch forged a new administrative

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center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

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they at times become so enthusiastic that they fail to remark how tenuous it is in places. Rangda is a Balinese mythical figure. Durga is, on the other hand, a widely known personage of the Hindu pantheon whose character is defined in Sanskrit literature, whose attributes have been variously represented according to the time level and the geographical and cultural locale in which the representations have been made. To say that Rangda is Durga is not untrue. But it is true only in the measure that one can say that the Black Christ made by a group of Indians in Mexico and venerated by them on the site of an ancient Aztec temple is the Jesus Christ of Palestine and the New Testament, or in the measure that certain Transformer tales of the Coast Salish on the Northwest Coast of America, when they are brought under Christian influence, identify the figures of *dôkwibul* and Moon with Christ.[1] The influence is there, but it can only be accepted and understood by the receiving culture according to its own lights and in terms of its own experience and characteristic structuring of the natural and supernatural worlds.

With this forewarning, then, let us look at the evidence. Vlekke gives the following dates in his historical outline of Hinduistic influences in the Indonesian Archipelago.

c. 1-700 A.D. Hindu immigration into the East Indian islands.

c. 400 A.D. Oldest Sanskrit inscriptions (at Muara Kaman) prove the existence of a Hindu-Indonesian state in East Borneo.

414. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-hien reports Brahmanism to be the prevailing religion in Java and Sumatra.

424. Prince Gunavarman of Kashmir preaches Buddhism in Sumatra.

c. 670. First reports on the Sumatran kingdom of Shrivijaya. The religion of its kings is Mahayana-Buddhist.

c. 750. Construction of the Shivaist temples of the Dieng Plateau (Java).

c. 770-800. Mahayana Buddhism becomes the official religion of the kingdom of Central Java. Construction of Borobudur and Tjandi Mendut (temples), etc.

c. 800. Shrivijaya is the predominant naval power in the archipelago.

c. 870. Return of the Shivaist kings of East Java to Central Java (Mataram).

c. 900. Construction of the Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan (Java).

c. 930. Central Java deserted by its kings and most of its inhabitants.

c. 989-1007. Dharmavangça, king of East Java, extends his power over Bali, promulgates laws, causes the *Mahabharata* to be translated into Old Javanese.

1019-1049. Airlangga (Erlangga, the Balinese prince, becomes through his mother) king of East Java. After his death the kingdom is divided into the states of Kadiri and Janggala.

[1] Smith, n.d.

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1102. Moslem inscriptions at Leran, Java, the first indication of Islam in the archipelago. 1175

c. 1290. First town in the Indies (Perlak in northern Sumatra) converted to Islam.

1292. Marco Polo visits Sumatra.

1260-1295. China is united under the rule of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan. First Chinese expansion to the south.

1294. Prince Vijaya expels the Chinese from Java and founds the kingdom of Madjapahit.

1294-1307. Vijaya extends the authority of Madjapahit over East Java, Madura, and Bali.

1307-1368. Revolt of China against the Mongols, followed by the founding of the Ming dynasty.

1331-1364. Gajah Mada, *patih* (minister) of Madjapahit, extends the authority of his kings over all coastlands between Malaya and the Moluccas.

c. 1350. Refugees from Java found the port of Malacca (Malay States).

1403. The emperors of the Ming dynasty begin a policy of expansion towards the south.

1405. Cheng-Ho, ambassador of the Chinese emperor, visits Malaya. Later embassies force all princes of Sumatra and Java to recognize Chinese overlordship.

1414. Malacca accepts Islam.

1419. First Moslem graves at Gresik, Java.

1465-1486. Marhum, first sultan of Ternate, spreads Islam in the Moluccas.

1478. Traditional date of the fall of Madjapahit. The kingdom probably subsisted fifty years longer.[4]

The bare listing of these events preceding the advent of European influences, Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch, gives an idea of the complexity of the historical pattern through which the Durga thread has to be followed. It seems clear enough to students of Balinese culture that the periods of closest contact between the little island and the more highly refined cultures of Hinduized Java, namely the period of King Erlangga, in the eleventh century, and the Madjapahit period, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are those which have remained fresh in Balinese legend and drama, continually celebrated in the smallest villages and at the courts of the princes. The fact that Bali served as a refuge for the Madjapahit hierarchy, princes, priests, scholars, skilled artists and artisans, fleeing before the tide of Islam may perhaps account for the freshness and clarity of the tradition referring back to Hindu Javanese times. The names of King Erlangga, of the kingdom of Kadiri, of the holy man, Mpu Bharada, of the *patih* (minister), Gadjah Mada, of Madjapahit and its kings and princes are on the tongue of every child, though, indeed, the periods to which they refer are apt to be confused and the historical heroes merged or interchanged with the mythical figures of Arjuna and Rama. To the Balinese, his [1177]

[4] Vlekke, 1943, pp. 410-412.

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heritage of Hinduism, whether it came to him directly or as a part of Hindu Javanese tradition, belongs to a sort of fairy tale level of his fantasy, and within the very active creative life of the people, these historical legendary figures continually reappear in the dramas, paintings, and decorative arts.

It will be seen by referring to the above table that the year 900 is the approximate date given to the so called Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan and that it was in the century immediately following this that the first close contact between Java and Bali was established. Now it is no accident that a figure of Durga from Prambanan, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was used as a frontispiece in Keith's volume on Indian mythology in the series, *The Mythology of All Races* (see Pl. XI, *b*). This outstandingly beautiful piece, chosen to head the volume and to illustrate the attributes of the Hinduistic deity, is entitled as follows:

> Durga. The wife of Siva, in her dread aspect, slays the Asura Mahisa. Standing in an attitude of triumph on the demon, who, as his name implies, is in the shape of a buffalo, she drags his soul (symbolized in human form) from him. From a Javanese lava sculpture, probably from Prambanan, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[1]

Durga is here a graceful figure executed with great artistry and technical skill. The posture is rhythmically composed. One hip sways out, the torso swinging to the opposite side; one knee is gently flexed. The breasts are rounded, perfect. One is even able to accept her having six arms, two of them raised above her head, holding weapons, while in another hand she appears to hold the demon by the hair. Her face is impassive and mild, neither threatening nor smiling, though from the reproduction it seems that the mouth is partly open and the teeth visible. In stylization this piece is representative of the best period of Hindu Javanese carving. As a work of art, it is a quite satisfying rendering of "The Inaccessible."

It is always somewhat difficult for those of us brought up in the religious tradition of the gentle Christ to understand why it was that in Hinduism, the fierce and terrible aspect of the wife of Siva was played up rather than her softer side. Keith gives us an inkling of what Durga may have meant at that time when he explains her various names in the chapter of the work mentioned above entitled "The Great Gods of the Epic." He says

> Closely akin to Siva is his wife Uma, the younger daughter of Himavant, whose gift of her to Rudra cost him the loss of all his jewels through a curse of Bhrgu, the sage of the gods, who came too late to seek her in marriage. As "Daughter of the Mountain" she is also Parvati, and Gauri ("the Radiant White One"), and Durga ("the Inaccessible"). The fancy of the poet, how-

[1] Keith, 1917, frontispiece.

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193 [195A] When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom."

He goes on to quote Stutterheim's statement that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he failed to persuade his father not to take another wife. And one of the chief motifs of the Rangda stories, reiterated and played out again and again by the Balinese, is the one that Covarrubias mentions—that nobody will marry the daughter of the witch. The story of the epidemic [195A] she caused, how she went to the cemetery, dug out corpses, cut them to pieces, ate the members, drank the blood, and decked herself with entrails, all this is dwelt upon in the published version of *De Calon Arang* (*Tjalon arang*) taken from the palm leaf (*lontar*) books." Mpu Bharada, the holy man, figures as the adviser to Erlangga and the champion of right who matches his supernatural powers against those of Rangda.

195 628 Vlekke in his history of the whole archipelago speaks of this period also as one marked by cataclysms, heroic ventures, and dire events. The Javanese king, Dharmavamça, Erlangga's father-in-law, he speaks of as "the first historical person of the Indonesian islands of whom we have more than a dim vision."

> He ordered the codification of the Javanese laws and fostered the growth of Javanese literature. He had some of the old Sanskrit texts translated into Javanese . . . saw to it that a Javanese version of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* was composed . . .
>
> Dharmavamça . . . knew how to combine diplomacy and warfare with cultural activity. Under his rule Javanese authority over Bali was established."

These factors in themselves would be sufficient to cause the celebration [193 199] of the period in Balinese legend and dramatic plays. The introduction of the strange princess, with her unknown and mysteriously disturbing ways, her different speech and that of her court, the new cultural refinements of dance, dress, and posture, the fresh store of weird supernatural tales, all these must have made upon the relatively uncouth Balinese an impression which they continuously act out up to the present day.

Dharmavamça was not satisfied with extending his sway over Bali. He "forced a principality on the west coast of Borneo to recognize his overlordship." Then he set out to conquer Sumatra and to overthrow the Shrivijaya dynasty. Vlekke speaks of this last campaign:

" Covarrubias, 1937, p. 328.
" Poerbatjaraka, 1926.
" Vlekke, 1943, p. 30.

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175 648

In a furious onslaught he (Dharmavamça) carried the war into the central part of that Sumatran empire and for several years during the last decade of the tenth century the throne of Shrivijaya was in constant danger of being overthrown. We know no details, but Dharmavamça's attack must have been beaten off, and Shrivijaya's retaliation, though delayed, was merciless. Its army, reinforced by its vassals from the Peninsula, swept over Java, took the capital, and set fire to the *Kraton*, the royal palace.

After the death of Dharmavamça the power of the Javanese kingdom was crushed and the various local potentates made themselves supreme in their districts. The empire appeared to have disintegrated. . . .

One of the consequences of the weakening of Shrivijaya was the revival of the Javanese kingdom under one of the most remarkable kings of Indonesian history, Airlangga (Erlangga) the son-in-law of the murdered Dharmavamça. This prince has left us, in a long inscription, the story of his amazing adventures. When he came from Bali, where his father was merely a local potentate, and tried to take possession of the throne of Java he naturally was opposed by the local rulers, who preferred the continuation of chaos to vassalage under a strong king.

Airlangga, like King Alfred of England, was obliged to live in hiding in the forests. The long years spent in solitude among the hermits of the woods and mountains were no lost time for the prince, for during them he gathered physical and moral strength to accomplish his task. To this period of abstinence and exercise in self-control the Javanese ascribe his ultimate success. Self-control practiced in conformance to Brahmanistic teaching naturally strengthened Airlangga's will-power, but to the theologians of Indonesia his experience meant more. They saw in it a period for the accumulation of the secret knowledge and power which they believed present in everything on earth and which finds its highest expression in the conscious use by initiates of the magic force. The use of this higher power was in itself no evil. Evil lay only in the misuse of it. Magic power was believed to be possessed by those persons in whom the gods chose to be reborn."

[785]

Vlekke, the sober historian, continues in this vein, until one begins to think there really must have been a stronger magic in those days than in our own. When he modulates to the story of Arjuna and to the famed Arjunavivaha tale which was written down in Erlangga's time, one is left with the feeling that indeed Arjuna and Erlangga may have been one and interchangeable. He continues:

King Airlangga had brought the Javanese state to a new life, but in spite of that his name was often cursed by his successors, who were driven to the use of the most demoniac devices to restore what he had broken by making a wrong use of secret knowledge. It is an historical fact that after Airlangga's death (1045?) the unity of the East Javanese kingdom was destroyed. According to the Javanese chronicles the king himself had decided to divide his realm between his two sons. The chronicles say that the king ordered a wise monk named Bharada (compare the Balinese story) who was said to be so well versed in the forces of the supernatural world that he could fly through

[173]

" *Ibid*, pp. 31-33.

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the air, to draw the boundaries between the two parts. Countermagic hindered the completion of the monk's work, but the curse of division and eternal (sic) strife had been laid upon the country."

Wars, then, political strife, disunity, the division of the kingdom, the separation of Kadiri (Daha) and Djanggala (both names well known in Balinese theatre) form the background of events against which the legend of the Rangda has grown up. There is another factor of importance, on which Vlekke barely touches, but which must have been exceedingly conducive to the building up of all these reputations for supernatural power. That is the coexistence at that time in Java, and in Bali, of organized priesthoods serving the Buddhist and Sivaite faiths. Erlangga is said to have brought both priesthoods under government control "by appointing royal superintendants and by making the priests themselves royal officials."[84] One can imagine that during these times of division, conflicting loyalties, the introduction of foreign born princes and princesses into the courts must have been propitious for priestly intrigue and the matching of powers of holiness. Even today in Bali one can see a Sivaite and a Boda (Buddha) high priest practicing their very similar rituals a few feet away from each other at a great ceremonial; yet the followers of each high priest will tell tales of the outstanding power (*sakti*) of his priest, his strength of concentration and intense holiness.

It is a possibility, presented here only tentatively for lack of supporting evidence, that the masked figure of the Rangda was elaborated out of the Durga worship belonging to the Sivaite tradition, while that of the Barong developed in a parallel line from some form of the Buddhist worship. This hypothesis is not belied by the existence in China and in Japan of dragon masks, closely resembling the Balinese Barong in structure, function, and behavior—playing in the villages at New Year's, for example—for it might have been on a wave of Buddhism that the idea of the Barong reached all three countries. The lion-like mask, the body animated by two or more players, the function of the performance as an exorcism for the protection of the village, the giving of food and coins to him in return for his protection, these are common elements found in China and Japan as well. It is quite conceivable that the mask play, traveling with Buddhism, was diffused over this wide area (see Pl. X, a and b). The antagonism, then, of Rangda and Barong when they meet and match their supernatural powers in the Balinese play could contain the deeper

[84] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[85] *Ibid.*

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

J [480 cont.]
671 confirmed, was the result of an attempt to combine the newer propositions of Mohammedan law with the other native and Hindu concepts (1).

1. Jonker, Dissertation, p. 2, note.

Bali

B
671 In the discussion of the literature, we remarked that among
●175 the Kawi writings or writings in Old Javanese there were codes of law that fell into disuse on Java itself and were lost there, but were preserved on Bali. These law codes are called agama = traditional doctrines. In large part they are made up of translated prescriptions from Hindu law codes, dharmaçâstra, and their material is borrowed chiefly from the great law code of Manu, the Mânavadharmaçastra. This does not alter the fact that there is much in it that is of local origin, that is Polynesian. For instance, if one compares the old Javanese law code published by Dr. Jonker, which has been mentioned above, with that of Manu, he can see how freely the Sivaistic Javanese went to work in compiling their codes of law. This is shown first by the form. Instead of verses, they used prose, which was a very practical gain. Moreover, these Javanese adopted as much as was proper from native justice and customs. Traces of this appear again and again, and thus it is certain that jurists handled the wording.

/Friedrich mentioned ten titles of the agama that are said to [481] be still in use on Bali today. One of them, the Dewa danda, in contrast to the others, contains practically no Hindu regulations.

Sumatra OD1
Borneo OC1
Bali OF7

[539 cont.]

S 172 made of a standing Buddha statue. Above Langkat in Palembang similar statues are regarded as petrified giants by the populace. The other antiquities of Hindu origin, of which there is a considerable number elsewhere on Sumatra, are of little importance; generally, they are merely engraved stones. This last also applies to Borneo, which, like Sumatra, was colonized from Modjopahit.

Br 172 All the remains found indicate that Sivaism was also the dominant religion outside Java. On Borneo, there are lingas and yonis in Sambas and Sarawak among other places, and in Kutei, besides these a Ganesa and a Nandi were found.

[540] c. Hindusm on Bali

Bl ● 175 The Hindus who brought their religion to Java introduced it also on Bali. With the introduction of Islam on Java, many who did not want to embrace this doctrine crossed over to Bali, especially after the fall of Modjopahit in 1478. The influence of Islam here seems to have been slight; at least neither the Hindu Balinese nor the refugees were exterminated by the proselytism of the Mohammedans, and thus Hinduism has continued to exist on Bali up to the present day. The Mohammedans have tried to introduce Islam on Bali from time to time, but with little success so far. The number of Balinese that have been converted to this doctrine is barely 3,000.

Bl 797

Bl 779 Hinduism exists on Bali in its two principal forms, Brahmanism and Buddhism. The Buddhists, however, are few in number and are only in the states of Boeleleng and Karangasem. The other inhabitants call them Brahmana-bodha, Buddha-Brahmans. Brahmanism is thus the principal form of Hinduism on Bali.

Bl 776 Here, Brahmanism is specifically Sivaism, in other words, Siva is venerated as the supreme god. The worship of Siva has absorbed the other gods of the Hindu pantheon. Brahma and Vishnu,